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# PEACE

No. 971

Feb. 4, 1955

4d. (U.S. Air Express)

Registered as a newspaper.
Entered as second-class matter at post office, Boston, Mass., USA.

# Two famous men change their minds

GENERAL MACARTHUR: "ABOLISH WAR NOW"

Viscount Cecil rejects collective security

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

candidate for President, the chief of industry, it was to be a great day.

THE red carpet was out for General Douglas MacArthur in Los Angeles last

the General, looking over a pool where even the water plants were arranged to

represent the islands which he had recovered from the Japanese during his military

week. For the life-long soldier, the man of battles, the war-time hero, the

There was to be unveiled in MacArthur Park, an eight-foot bronze statue to

**Immigration** DON'T STOP THEM

**London Conference on Colonial** 

COMING HERE

By MARTIN JACKSON

A DEPUTATION of leading London religious and civic leaders will meet Mr. I. J. Hayward, leader of the London County Council to discuss the problem of West Indian immigration.

They will urge the setting up of reception centres and efforts for a closer intergration of immigrants into London life. **Dr. Donald Soper** will be a member of the deputation.

The decision to send a deputation to the LCC was made at a conference called by the Movement for Colonial Freedom at Denison House on Sunday to fight steps to limit immigration from the West Indies.

Delegates from 102 organisations heard LCC Councillor DONALD CHESWORTH, Chairman of the London Movement for Colonial Freedom, presiding at the conference set the theme, saying, "We are not in favour of any legislation that will prevent people coming to this country."

Opening speaker was Mr. Yussuf Hosein, Chairman of the West Indies Society of the London School of Economics. He complained that so far the publicity had centred on the social implications of West Indians coming to Britain and nothing has been said on the position in the West Indies itself. "We have not come to Britain to live off the welfare state, we have come to find work."

### Fifty per cent unemployed

In May 1953, half of the total labour force in May 1933, nall of the total labour force in Jamaica were unemployed. During the height of the depression in the 1930s, unemployment in Britain was proportionately only a quarter of the number out of work in the West Indies today.

A former Judge in the West Indies, Mr. C. W. Greenidge said: "They are coming to Britain because there is nowhere else for them to go. For 25 years they have been emi-grating to North and Central America. But one by one the bars have gone up.'

Immigration to Britain was no new thing.
"We have had the Irish, and according to them they are foreigners; we have had Cypriots and Maltese. But until the West Indians came there was never a murmur. The demand for prohibitive legislation is based on the colour bar. We should do everything we can to oppose any proposed. everything we can to oppose any proposed law restricting immigration."

# A class of 100 pupils

A description of how she had to teach in a school with more than 100 pupils in a class came from 50 year old, Mrs. Mabel Allen, wife of the Jamaican Minister of Education in the last government. Forty per cent of the Jamaicans, were illiterate. Jamaicans were illiterate.

"We are victims of a whispering cambaign based on half truths of London lecturer and playwright, Mr. Jan Carew of British Guiana. "One would think that there was a vast army of coloureds marching into this country." It was a "hysterical attitude"—people should have been more afraid of the 100,000 Poles in England rather than the 80,000 coloured Daily Mirror Columnist

Britain must define a new racial attitudeare we to have a Mississippi in this country or not?" Mr. Carew said what was happening was that the slums of the Empire were coming too near, "the stink is too close." Speaking of the housing problems, he said:

On back page

# 2,300 at Hamburg "No German Arms" meeting

From Peace News' Hamburg Correspondent THE third of a series of meetings to protest against German rearmament, organsed by Hamburg pacifists, drew a crowd of 300 people, mostly young, to hear Labour MP, Heinz Kuhn.

The first meeting organised by the Hamburg Pledge Union) in Oct. last was attended valout 500 people. It was addressed by a close friend of Pastor Niemoller, Dr. Mochalti. The second meeting on Dec. 6 was attended by 750 people.

Before their third meeting, Hamburg War Resisters' organised two parades of motor rehicles decorated with posters opposing conscription and rearmament. Some 50,000 leaf-displanted and 100 large posters

were distributed and roo large with the large were distributed and railway.

Still bigger meetings and demonstrations are the large support gained planned with the increasing support gained from these activities.

undred

To millions of people he is still the great His speech surprised the world...

exploits in the Pacific.

who was turned out of office because his militarism was too dangerous even for his



General and Mrs. Douglas MacArthur at a performance of "South Pacific" at New York's Majestic Theatre.

# ... and this is what others said:

# Dr. Donald Soper

As a pacifist I never expected to find an ally sibly hope to win. in General MacArthur . . . He has, at the eleventh hour, said the wisest thing of his

In these words, it is he, rather than General Eisenhower, who represents the American people at their wisest and best. How much longer will it be before complete disarmament is recognised as the only practical politics?

# Mrs. Pandit

It gives great hope for the future that an army leader of the experience of the General should have made that call.

# Cassandra

He has confounded his critics with a speech that in human wisdom is a very notable affair. He has pointed out the madness of a world

fully stocking up with all its energies for an unspeakable war which neither side can pos-

He has pointed out that Soviet Russia and the United States, who are the main protagonists, are, in fact, basically motivated by the

same reasons—fear of each other.

In peace they are irreconcilable. In war they will be united in a common doom. The MacArthur legend was of an uncom-

promising swashbuckler acting strictly in accordance with his lights which were so dim as to be almost extinguished. That he of all nle should shatter his own legen such statesmanship and eloquence is an irony for which we are none the less grateful.

# The Press

Never has he seemed a grander figure— New York Herald Tribune, January 31.

has looked into the pit of nuclear war and finds it intolerable and insane-Alistair yearning and praying for peace while fear- Cooke, Manchester Guardian, January 28.

Thousands jammed the streets to see the romantic figure of the century, tough, one-time Supreme Commander, boss of Japan, courageous, adventuresome. But to none more sabre-rattling director of the Korean War, the so perhaps than the American Legion whom man who wanted to bomb China, the man he had come to address at a banquet honouring his seventy-fifth birthday.

What he did that day was probably the most courageous and adventuresome thing in his life. He called, before that audience, for the abolition of war.

"The United States," he said, "should take the initiative. We must break out of the straitjacket of the past. There must always be one to lead and we must be that one. We should now proclaim our readiness ները) «Կորբին իրբանության արև ներան հայանակության արդանակում և

# "My warm thanks" -VISCOUNT CECIL

General MacArthur's speech found at least one prominent echo in Britain. Vis-count Cecil of Chelwood, PC, QC, long famous as an international lawyer and an advocate of collective security at the League of Nations, wrote the following letter to The Times on January 31:

Sir,—May I venture to express my warm thanks to General MacArthur for his advocacy of the abolition of war as reported in The Times of January 27. It is the only remedy. Collective security, deterrents, and other like proposals can postpone our danger perhaps, but it will remain as a present burden on our strength and a future threat to our civilization

Yours faithfully,

CECIL. Gale, Chelwood Gate, Haywards Heath,

to abolish war in concert with the Great Powers of the world.

"The results would be magical," he

His hearers, sitting with disbelieving ears, heard the General denounce "the blackguard leaders" of the world whom "the disease of power seems to confuse and befuddle." He accused them of never raising the real problem "in the chancellories of the world, or the balls of the United Nations. halls of the United Nations.

"Never do they dare to state the bald truth, the next great advance in the evolution of civilisation cannot take place until war is abolished. . . . You will say at once that although the abolition of war has been the dream of man for centuries every proposition to that end has been promptly discarded as impossible and fantastic.

"Every cynic, every pessimist, every adventurer, every swashbuckler in the world has always disclaimed its feasibility. But that was before the science of the past decade made mass destruction a reality. The argument then was that human character has never reached a theological development which would permit the application of pure idealism. In the last 2,000 years its rate of change has been deplorably slow, compared to that of the arts and sciences. But now the tremendous and present evolution of nuclear and other potentials of destruction have suddenly taken the problem away from its primary considera-

\* On back page

### A war we won't fight" **British opinion on** Formosa:

THE TIMES: "The danger of fighting getting out of hand is present so long as Chiang Kai-shek's men from Formosa and the offshore islands go on raiding mainland China and so long as the Communist Chinese conduct counter-raids or harry those withdrawing from the islands. The danger would be immeasurably increased if American naval and air forces were embroiled in these off-shore raidings. Hence the only possibility of achieving anything like a cease-fire lies in putting a hundred miles of salt water between the two sides."

DAILY MIRROR: "Let there be no misunderstanding. The British people believe that America's present policy on China is wrong and perilous. If America involves herself in a major war because of this

policy, such a war would NOT command the sympathy of the British people.

"The British people believe that the present crisis is the direct result of a historical blunder. The blunder was America's refusal to recognise the Communication of Chicagonia and the communication of the co munist Government of China.

"This first blunder has led inevitably to others. Unless this series of blunders is now halted, we may find ourselves on the brink of a world-wide atomic war."

DAILY HERALD: "This country definitely will not become involved, under any pre-text, in China's civil war.

"No British soldier, no British ship and not one aeroplane need be expected to inter-vene on behalf of Chiang Kai-shek.

"We want to see the United Nations given a reasonable chance to obtain a ceasefire, leading to peaceful discussion of China's claim to Formosa. There is no prospect of that if China is excluded from the United Nations."

TRIBUNE: "Britain is not a party to the American policy in Formosa, let alone her policy in Quemoy. It is necessary, therefore, for the British Government to make clear that the British people are strongly opposed to the President's message and the consequent military actions.

If the British Government will not take that simple course, the British Labour Party should do it for them."

NEWS CHRONICLE: Sixty-five per cent of British voters say Britain should keep out of the fighting if America goes to war over

# Two new schools bear names of men of peace

From MARGERY JONES

A NEW London County Council Secondary School at Tulse Hill, South London bears the name of the founder of the Peace Pledge Union and will be known as "Dick Sheppard School." It opens in september.

A Primary School in Coventry has been named after Alderman Richard Lee, a former member of the National Council of the Peace Pledge Union, and, at the time of his death, a Director of Peace News Ltd. History is made by men, not by social determinisms.

# The U.S. and China

TT is impossible to consider the basic realities of the acute situation regarding Formosa and the off-shore islands without having in one's mind a clear idea of the immensity of the Pacific Ocean and the disposition of the lands around it.

One of the difficulties of helping the average newspaper reader to hold the issues involved in a reasonable perspective is the space required for a map which consists in the main of an

enormous ocean tract surrounded by coastlines.

Most newspapers separate a small portion of the area involved and just show Formosa, the Pescadores and other islands, with the coastline of the Chinese mainland. This puts the issue completely out of focus, is unjust to the Chinese Government, and covers up the extravagant US attitude, permitting her to falsify the issues in the eyes of the Western populations (but not, of course of the Asian populations) as to what is at stake.

The US Government claims that it is necessary to hold a chain of territories throughout the Pacific for its protection. The Phillipines, the most formidable link in this chain, are nearly 8,000 miles away from the West coast of the United States, which has come to take the view that it should hold any possible enemy at least this distance from its shores. Consequently the US seeks to tie Japan as closely as possible to it holds that South Korea is necessary to its protection, and also

treats Formosa as a further part of its defensive chain.

Now Formosa, more than 7,500 miles from San Francisco, is 70 miles from the Chinese coast, while there are other islands harbouring enemies of the Peking Government and supplied and armed by the United States nearer still to China; of these Quemoy stands in about the same relationship to the Chinese coast as the Isle of Wight does to the English coast.

When President Eisenhower talks, as he did last Saturday, of the American people being "united in our determination to defend an area vital to the security of the United States," while It is denied that the Chinese have any right to be concerned that territories 70 miles away or less are held by their declared enemies, he is displaying the monstrous suppositions upon which

American policy is based.

No self-righteous declarations by the US Government about this aggressive intention can cover up the nationalistic megalomania displayed by an incapacity to see that China has reason-

able cause for her fears.

The present acute insecurity of the world is a clear consequence of the policy of "negotiating from strength". It has been apparent in recent weeks that President Eisenhower sees at last where his Asiatic proteges and their irresponsible American backers would be likely to bring him in this hydrogen bomb age, and there was every sign of a move towards a radical reconstruc-

tion of American foreign policy.

The trouble about "negotiation from strength", however, is that it cannot be one-sided. An indication that the US was at last ready to talk in terms of reason and pacification was, therefore, a signal for the Chinese Government to make a move forward to secure the best terms possible on the normal power calculations. They also seek to negotiate from strength and their most obvious way is to indicate that they will shortly attack Formosa; while President Eisenhower finds himself impelled to cancel-out his readiness to support a "cease fire" by his ambiguous statement regarding Quemoy and Matsu.

As we go to press the greatest hope is to be found in the fortunate coincidence of the meeting of the Commonwealth Conference. According to the Sunday Times, the Commonwealth Prime Ministers are particularly apprehensive of the danger that "trigger-happiness" may lead to American loss of life with consequences of unpredictable magnitude. Here is further evidence of the lopsidedness of our political values in this business, for there is already evidence of trigger-happiness when the Chiang Government claimed last Saturday that they had inflicted heavy damage on six Chinese warships. Three 2,000 ton vessels were hit by bombs, and three others damaged.

It was not American lives that were involved here but Asian lives, and it must not be thought that the Asian people are blind to the different assessment of their importance in the standards of international crisis that are applied.

The best outcome of the present position would be a cease fire, with the clear indication that there would be universal condemnation for any attack on the mainland by Chiang, the removal of his troops from Quemoy and Matsu as well as from the other islands, and the placing of Formosa under UN trusteeship until such time as its inhabitants can thereafter the district continue to the continue of the continue ship until such time as its inhabitants can themselves indicate their desires as to their future destiny.

### General MacArthur's speech

THE profoundly different temper of General MacArthur's birthday speech as compared with some of his earlier declarations is greatly to be welcomed.

Without exaggerating the content of the speech we honour him for having made it. We hope that he will return to this subject later and clarify what is implied in it. Otherwise what he has said will be treated to fulsome praise and then ignored by those who are resolved to take no serious notice of it.

This is the treatment, for instance that he is given by the New York Herald Tribune which follows some passages of appreciation in superlative terms with the following:

"In this extraordinary appeal he transcends controversies to take his stand upon absolutes. Never has he seemed a grander figure."

then remarks:

"From that height one returns to immediate problems such as the Red threat to Formosa."

All of which can be interpreted as meaning "The old fool must be humoured, but now we will get back to practical questions."

What General MacArthur has said has an immediate and practical bearing on the question of Formosa, as it has on every other dangerous flashpoint. If the world goes down in hydrogen bomb warfare it will not be because some nation engaged in the power struggle decides, in the void as it were, that this is the time to have a war. It will spring out of a point of tension like Formosa.

It is for this reason that General MacArthur must make clear in what sense he holds that UN should take the initiative. To proclaim a readiness to abolish war does not represent a new initiative. All the nations are constantly proclaiming such readiness; and on these proclamations, both in the East and the West, they build what they call their "defence" programmes. When "some great figure in power"

has sufficient imagination and moral courage to translate into actuality the universal wish and the universal necessity for peace he will have to go far beyond asking all nations to agree that peace is a desirable and necessary thing.

The only genuine initiative is unilateral action to demonstrate peaceful intentions. Such action could change the climate of opinion in international affairs and bring hope to the world. It has an exceedingly pertinent relationship to the problem of the "Red threat to Formosa."

We hope General MacArthur will seek an early opportunity to clarify the significance of his statement. He must not permit himself to be "brushed off."

# Viscount Cecil too

SHORT letter to The Times from Viscount Cecil in support of General MacArthur, although it has not zones.
made such a stir is really as striking The a change in approach as that of the General himself

For Viscount Cecil declares that there is now no hope in "collective security" It is an urgent necessity to get rid of all war, however it may be described. Viscount Cecil also owes it to the

world to translate his rejection of his old policy of collective security into a and recognisable approach

# The prisoners

ONE of the casualties of the developing tension over Formosa has Berlin Conference, now that they have been the Chinese Government's invita-

# BEHIND

tion to the families of the American airmen prisoners to visit their men in

There was doubtless some calculation attached to this, and it provided an obvious embarrassment for the US Government. It was nevertheless a gracious act.

Families of four of the prisoners (at least) have expressed a desire to go, Mr. Dulles has now refused, the US Gov-"reluctant conclusion that it would be imprudent for the time being to issue passports valid for travel to Communist "differ the form the China to any American citizens.'

Such a decision was doubtless necessary as part of the maintenance of a stern military front. If a cease-fire is achieved (and assuming that there is no release of the men as a part of the same negotiation) we hope that the invitation will be repeated—and acceptance their homes in the Eastern zones will permitted.

### The German Manifesto

PHE twenty-four hour strike of the Trade Unions in the Ruhr, though it was not specifically connected with the opposition to W. German rearmament, was an indication of the growth of the crisis of confidence in the Adenauer government.

The rearmament and ratification of the Paris Agreements have now become matters of public debate, for such is the significance of the meeting held at Paulskirch, Frankfurt, to launch the German Manifesto.

Not only the place but also the platform gave the gathering and the campaign it launched a national and not party character.

The speakers included Prof. Weber (who was removed from his Chair in Berlin University in 1933), Herr Georg Reuter, the Deputy Chairman of the German Trades Union Federation, Prof. Gollwitzer, a well-known protest-ant theologian, Prof. Hessen, equally well-known as a Catholic theologian, Dr. Heinemann, the former Minister of the Interior in the Bonn Government who resigned in 1950 in protest at the Adenauer policy, and Herr Ollenhauer, the leader of the Social Democrats.

The German Manifesto issues a warning of "the immeasurable responsibilities" of those who fail to see the threat to German reunification in the Paris agreements, and calls for resistance to the formation of German armed forces, in the West and East

The announcement of the decree of the Supreme Soviet ending the state of war between Russia and Germany and the text of the most recent Soviet proposals for reunification have given a new impetus to the opposition to rearmament, and the W. German press are taking the proposals much more seriously than did most of the press in Britain and America.

Indeed Dr. Adenauer and the Western Assembly.

politicians are in the dilemma of having The half-yearly report of the US to answer the question as to why they will not agree to the proposals for free elections they themselves made at the

# "Counter rearmament"

CCORDING to a report from the Bonn correspondent of the Man-chester Guardian, plans for the rearma-ment of Eastern Germany are well under way.

Preliminary steps were taken last September with the appointment of registration officers for each Kreis. They have now drawn up a list of all males born between 1910 and 1938, and of females born between 1914 and 1920 The latter list is for the purpose of replacing men who may be withdrawn from factories, and for supplying

A new recruiting campaign is to be started for the purpose of expanding the Peoples Police Force from 110,000 to 135,000. This section of the police differs from the normal civilian police, without reducing its present size.

The aim of the "counter re-armament programme" of E. Germany seems to be to have 300,000 men under arms by the end of 1956. It is significant that the E. German government has decided that any W. Germans who want to make not be conscripted.

Though some such response to the rearmament of W. Germany was inevitable, and was indeed one of the dangers in the Paris agreements, it should be remembered that the E. German government has made their rearmament dependent on W. German rearmament, and if there is no rearmament of the Western zone there will be none in the Eastern. The Russian proposals also included provision for agreement as to the size and character of the respective police forces pending reunification and for their inspection and control.

### More A-bomb tests

IN its half-yearly report the US Atomic Energy Commission forecasts a further series of tests at the Nevada proving grounds.

These will not, of course, be explosions of the type of the hydrogen bomb tested at the Marshall Islands (which injured 23 Japanese fishermen and killed one of them) although Mr. Val Petersen, the Civil Defence Administrator, has said:

"In the not too distant future we will be building a bomb equal in force to 60 million tons of TNT."

Such a bomb would be three times as powerful as the largest H-bomb ex-ploded in the Pacific last year and 3,000 times as powerful as the bomb that des-

troyed Hiroshima.

We have received a list of 14 Japanese who have died of atomic diseases be-tween October 1953 and October 1954; while it is reported that a Hiroshima boy, M. Mitani, 9 years old, died on Jan. 6 from acute illness through radioactivity. He was not born when the Hiroshima bomb fell, but he was in his mother's womb.

We believe that there has been sufficient responsible scientific opinion expressed as to the evil consequences for the world population in the mere test explosions of A and H-bombs to regard the matter as an issue that ought to be dealt with by the United Nations

Atomic Energy Commission remarks that the Marshall Islanders who have been injured by radio-active fall-out are now in excellent health. It does not refer to the Japanese fishermen.

# From the Pescadores to a Brooklyn park

letter is being written, President Eisenhower sent to Congress a formal request for approval of the use of US forces in the Formosa area.

He states that the Administration is not suggesting "that the US enlarge its defensive obligations beyond Formosa and the Pescadores", to which it is already pledged by the treaty with the Chiang Kai-shek government which is before the Senate for ratification and by other policy statements.

However, the recent capture by the Communist Chinese forces of the tiny and rocky island of Yikiang and the threatened seizure of the somewhat larger Tachen island group which is also nearer Formosa itself has brought up some of the political-military issues, which always arise in an armed world at crucial points.

There is the seemingly humanitarian question: "Suppose Chiang's forces have to abandon the Tachens under Communist attack, should not US naval and aircraft be made available to evacuate Nationalist Chinese civilians and soldiers?"

There is also the more obviously military problem which Eisenhower made no effort to dodge: We are committed to defend Formosa and the Pescadores "but unhappily the danger of armed attack against that area compels us to take into account closely related localities which, under current conditions, might determine the failure or success of such an attack"! In other words, in crucial instances, there never is a clearly defined and static "defence" line; the territory adjacent to the line always has to be made "safe" too—and naturally for both sides.

It is ominous that, as was the case with Truman when he ordered the Seventh Fleet into Formosan waters when a crisis arose a

military action on strategic, i.e. power, considerations. As he puts it, "in the interest of peace" (what else, of course?) "the US must remove any doubt regarding our readiness to fight, if necessary, to preserve the vital stake of the free world in a free Formosa, and to engage in whatever operations may be required to carry out that purpose". That is is flatly told that o say, Communist China Formosa is a part of the US power or defence orbit-at least until the conflict between the o-called free and the Communist world no longer exists. But the conflict is precisely, among other things, over whether Formosa does "belong" to one rather than the other of these worlds.

# The new imperialism

Presumably the US claim to interest in Formosa rests upon the fact that it was in Japan's hands and defeated Japan surrendered it to US troops. The proposition that it should be transferred from the hands of the US as "caretaker" by some orderly procedure and not by violence even on the part of the Communist Chinese government which clearly has a good claim to Formosa, is one which can reasonably be maintained.

The proposition that Formosa is forever or for an indefinite period part of the US power orbit, is as indefensible as would be the proposition that Cuba was part of the Rus-

sian or Chinese defence orbit.

Eisenhower's proposal can only be judged n Asia as an expression of the new-United States—imperialism.

If war results, it will be far more tragic than the Korean venture proved to be.

THE international scene is a turbulent one. thousand miles away in Korea, Eisenhower rearmament on the part of the youth, the bases his case for Congressional consent for but on the morning of the day on which this but on the morning of the day on which this military action on strategic, i.e. power, conposed and the Social Democratic Party is "experts" on juvenile crime: "We must find mounting and is sufficient to cause concern in the Adenauer cabinet, is heartening. Would that it may be sustained, may become increasingly clear and unequivocal in its rejection of the military method altogether, and may grow

It is to be hoped that opponents of militarism in Germany will not be seduced by the Communist proposal of a unified, neutralised and armed Fatherland.

The notion with which some Social Democrats flirt that if only Germany were unified and under an SDP regime it could have a democratic military establishment in the atomic age is equally insane.

I hope a strong effort to achieve a unified, neutralised and—by the decision of its own people-unarmed Germany will be made at this crucial time; and that it will receive from other countries all the support that can possibly be rallied. Such a Germany would be indeed a free Germany and the beginning of a world free in reality, not merely in name.

Apparently, but only apparently, unrelated to such considerations is the last matter on which I want to touch this week. In a recent issue of The Reporter magazine, the editor has placed side by side two articles without, I think, being aware of some possibly ironical

The first article is a brilliant report and analysis of four youths who last summer sadistically murdered a "bum" they found asleep in a Brooklyn park. Two of them have just been sentenced to life imprisonment. In than the Korean venture proved to be. It remains to be seen whether any more than a token protest by a few pacifists will be made. The news from Germany, the other "hot spot" at the moment, that the protest against destruction, adventure with death?"

out if the backwash of the last great war has left this wrack; whether killing for cause is prelude to or preparation for killing with-

Letter from U.S.A. by A. J. Muste

# Cheerfully preparing for war

The other article is about Arthur S. Flemming, director of the Office of Defence Mobilisation. In the title of the article he is aptly called "Secretary of Just in Case," since it is his business to plan and prepare for mobilisation for atomic and biological war, in case it should come in spite of the deterrent effects of our preparations for it.

We are told that it is a good thing Flemming is not the sensitive, introspective type, since he would "go to pieces" if he were. "Flemming does not brood. He merely works. He works busily, cheerfully, against the dread moment." the dread moment . .

We are further reminded that Flemming is president, on leave, of Ohio Wesleyan University and a vice-president of the National Council of Churches of Christ, presiding over its Division of Christian Life and Work, which includes international affairs. We are also told that Flemming, who is a "non-smoking, non-drinking, somewhat humourless Methodist, although amiable and pleasant, has puritanical streak and a modest scale of living. . . . Nobody in Washington conveys less of the martial spirit. Yet nobody . . . puts in as many hours a day on the grim assumption that the biggest war ever is just around the corner.'

Now is there a connection between killing for cause and killing without cause, between non-smoking, non-drinking, Methodist Flem-ming and the four boys involved in "Night of Horror" in Brooklyn?

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# FOR PEACE

—German pacifists

SPEND the 15,000 million marks (£1,250m.) which rearmament is likely to cost, for the purpose of abolishing want and raising the standard of living in the underdeveloped countries."

This, says an article expressing the opposition to rearmament of the German section of the War Resisters International published in their journal, Friedensrundschau, would be "the best contribution Germany could posgrateful."

### Military service a crime

The German section of the War Resisters International declare that their members will refuse every kind of military service and that they do not recognise the right of the Govern-ment to impose an obligation to undertake

The performance of military service is a crime. No-one should be called upon to make amends for not committing a crime.

The German WRI say that they advocate "a voluntary peace service at home and abroad for the purpose of abolishing want and hunger, furthering international understanding, removing the causes of war and creating the right psychological, economic and social conditions for peaceful co-operation

Friends Service Committee.

Amherst 7-1068.

Washington DC;

We ought not to do so.

lave it all their own way.

Our aim for 1955 : £1,000.

overage for February: £85, lotal received in January: £85.

omething.

TOM WARDLE TO

LECTURE IN U.S.

Peace education programme

TOM WARDLE of Peace News staff was due to sail

lecture tour in the USA on behalf of the American

He will address week-end schools, clubs, student and church groups in towns and cities throughout the USA under a programme being arranged for him by the Peace Education section of the AFSC.

His time table for different regions and the local contact from whom programmes may be obtained is as follows:

February 15-21: Kansas, Oklahoma, Colo-

CONTACT PERSON: Lloyd Spaulding, AFSC,

February 23-March 2: Iowa, Missouri, Minnesota, Nebraska, S. Dakota, N. Dakota; Howard McKinney, AFSC, 4211 Grand Avenue, Des Moines 12, Iowa. Tel: Des Moines 5-3116.

March 3-9: Illinois, Wisconsin; Robert Pickus, AFSC, 59 East Madison St., Chicago, 2, Illinois. Tel: Central 6-2664.

March 12-25: Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New

Mark Deibler, AFSC, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia, 7, Pa. Tel: Ri 6-9372.

Fred Haslam, Canadian Friends Service

WELL BEGUN!

continuation of gifts of that size, and, indeed

I am sure you do not want others to pay for

the pacifist witness which is as much your

responsibility and privilege as theirs, even if you cannot send as much as they can. Part of

the value of these large gifts is the encouragement they bring to all of us to do what we can, and if our aim is to be reached and our

work to prosper, we must all have a share in it.

Needless to say, it would be a great joy to

nd other large amounts in the post, but I am

relying chiefly on a large number of smaller tums to make up our monthly figure of £85

February. So do not hesitate because you

now you cannot afford to send £50, £10 or £5.

The point is you can afford to send something. Yes, you know you can.

The one thing we cannot afford is to allow

the claims of pacifism to go by default and let those who prefer to fool about in Formosa,

amble with death and risk a third world war

Will you, therefore, add your £1 or 10s. note, r your 5s. or 2s. 6d. postal order to the others

which the postman will be delivering at Dick heppard House? And because it takes quite

lot of notes and postal orders to make up (85, yours is needed and will be missed if you

to not send it. But then I know you will send

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

STUART MORRIS,

General Secretary.

LTHOUGH in our case it is unfortunately not true that "well begun is half-way

done," it is indeed well begun.

With £1,000 as our aim for 1955, the Peace Pledge Union

Headquarters Fund realised the

and £5, but we cannot rely on

March 27-29: Toronto (Canada);

York, Maryland, Delaware, West Virginia,

2023 University, Wichita 12, Kansas. Tel:

yesterday on the Queen Mary for a three-months

# USE ARMS MONEY Wanted to do social work—"army only makes things worse"

AN 18-years-old grandson of the great philanthropist and social worker, the late Mr. B. Seebohm Rowntree, successfully appealed to the South Western Conscientious Objectors Tribunal in Bristol on the grounds that if he undertook military service he could not follow in his grand-father's footsteps.

He was David Dawson Seebohm Rowntree sibly make to the peace of the war torn world, and one for which all the world would be career he would only be making matters worse if he supported any armed force.

"I have no wish to participate in any warfare. I would not defend a country or persons if killing was involved. During the past year I have made some good friends in parts of the world, and I feel that if I participated in any would-be war against a country in which any of them live, I should lose a good friend."

Rowntree was exempted on condition that he should continue with his career in helping to improve social conditions.

A man could not be regarded as a conscientious objector simply because he hated firearms, the tribunal decided in the case of Malcolm Roderick Laver, age 21, of 10 Esplanade, Burnham-on-Sea, Somerset.

Committee, 60 Lowther Avenue, Toronto 5,

March 31-April 10: Still in planning stage;

April 12-18: Texas, Missouri, Arkansas,

Nat. Griswold, AFSC, 2106 Nueces Street, Austin 5, Texas. Tel: Austin 2-5522.

Charles MacLennan, AFSC, Box 274 Bexley Branch, Columbus 9, Ohio. Tel:

April 29-May 1: Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Maryland, Delaware, West Virginia, Washington, DC;
Mark Deibler, AFSC, 20 S. 12th Street, Phil. 7, Pa. Tel: Ri 6-9372.

May 3-10: Massachusetts, Connecticut,

Russell Johnson, AFSC, 130 Brattle Street, Cambridge 38, Mass. Tel: University 4-3150. (Peace News US Sales Office.)

Maine, Rhode Island, Vermont, New Hamp-

Canada: Midway 5395.

April 20-27: Ohio, Michigan;

May 12: Sail from New York.

Louisiana;

shire.

# SEEBOHM ROWNTREE'S

In a letter Laver said: "It is not my intention to be called up and to be given any job that the Army chooses. I would prefer to use the two years to my own advantage and learn something of a clerical nature." If he could not fulfil his obligations on his own terms he would have to "resort to belligerence—and the authorities can do their worst.

Laver also said: "I hate guns and all that they stand for. Since a shooting accident in 1952 I have formed a complete contempt for all firearms. With every bang I can remember the moment that a cartridge discharged into my left hand. I can feel the kick of the pellet and see the hole it made as though it was happening again. My nerves have gone to pieces since then."

Announcing the tribunal's decision, Judge Wethered said: "I feel very sorry for the poor chap, but he could not possibly be regarded as a conscientious objector."

Criticism of Jehovah's Witnesses was made y Judge E. H. C. Wethered during the

A minister for the movement, Dennis Edward Stevens, age 18, of The Downs, Hollywell Lake, Wellington, Somerset, had put forward as one of the reasons for which he should be granted exemption the fact that as a minister he could not take part in war-

Judge Wethered said he had never heard of anything "more ridiculous" than to be asked to recognise the applicant as a minister "when his, written statement shows that he cannot spell English. He is at an age where public in English colleges are passing from the pupils in English colleges are passing from the junior classes to the upper school. It just does not make sense that a 16-years-old boy without training or experience can be regarded as a minister.

Mr. G. Pareham, who accompanied Stevens, was told by the chairman: "You asked me to read your books and I read them. But they did not impress me—or if they impressed me it was the wrong way.

"I think a great many of your beliefs are absolute crazy rubbish, though I know you honestly believe them and are prepared to go to the stake for them if necessary.'

juvenile ministers were recognised and exempted from military service.

at home and from his workmates.

Others granted exemption on condition that Others granted exemption on condition that they took up employment specified by the tribunal were: J. R. Brand, 99 Hill Street, Kingswood, Bristol; D. F. Speare, 13 Dongola Road, Horfield, Bristol; G. A. Luff, 16 Perry Street, Bristol; A. W. Gardner, The Bungalow, Bridge Road, Mangotsfield; M. Walker, Chantry Mead Road, Bath; and F. J. Way, The Friends Ambulance Unit International Service Melksham Wiltshire

# Jehovah's Witnesses criticised

fare. He had been a minister since he was 16.

Mr. Pareham said that in the United States

He added that Stevens, an electrician, was applying for exemption in face of opposition

Stevens was granted exemption on condition that he took up agricultural, forestry or hospital work, full time.

Service, Melksham, Wiltshire.

# GRANDSON AT BRISTOL TRIBUNAL

# PEOPLE AND PLACES

# By Hugh Brock

# GENERAL MACARTHUR

constitution with its renunciation of war and, later, his approval of the appointment of a Sian poet, Samuel Marshak. Quaker and pacifist, Mrs. Elizabeth Gray Vining, to be tutor to Crown Prince Akihito, ordinary folk," she said in h was, for a soldier, playing with fire.

In Tokio the General received regular reports from Mrs. Vining on the Prince's pro-

I suppose she must have told him that she was teaching Japan's future ruler, and his fellow class-mates in what used to be known as the Peers' School, about some of the world's really great men: Gandhi, Schweitzer, Einand other Service Ministries, backed up with stein and Pierre Ceresole.

MacArthur may even have pondered over some of the end of term exam papers in which Mrs. Vining's pupils wrote about the "Great Men and Women of the Twentieth Century."

"Gandhi has helped the world in two ways, one, he unified India and made it free from English rule, second he showed throughout the world that non-violent resistance is very strong and peace is very important," wrote one of the

Prince's fellow-pupils.
Wrote another: "My favourite is Albert
Schweitzer because he found his true happiness by offering all his earthly happiness to helping poor Negroes."

MacArthur's evil deeds are engraved on the

scorched and scarred stones of Japan and Korea, but he may well have helped with the sowing of seeds in Japan which will one day flourish and bear good fruit.

# ON THE AIR

THE Russian delegates stole the limelight at the Burns Festival

was helping to entertain the Russian delegates very largely to generous anonymous contributions of £50, £10

So General MacArthur has been affected by that the visit was a great success.

his own policy in Japan.

She went on the air, in the Scottish proBris endorsement of the post-war Japanese gramme "A Matter of Opinion," and told listeners of her pleasure at meeting the Rus-

> "If there were more visits of this kind by ordinary folk," she said in her broadcast, "it would go a long way towards off-setting the hate propaganda poured out all over the world." The opinion was well received by the 800 audience present in the studio.

# CIVILIAN HERO

TIME powerful public relations dethousands of pounds of the taxpayers' money see to it that full publicity is given to every rescue at sea or on shore in which the Forces have a hand.

In fact the young National Serviceman might be forgiven for believing that the job of the Armed Forces was to engage in rescue work, not destruction.

The Press has been full of the operations of naval helicopters in the snowbound Orkneys but the award last month of a Royal Humane Society's Testimonial to a 16-year-old West Hartlepool railway apprentice, T. Amerigo, for the rescue of his former school friend, Tom Lund, goes by unnoticed.

The citation states: "Lund was playing and floating on an air-inflated inner tube about 100 yards from the shore. An ebbing tide and strong wind soon

found him in difficulties and affected by cramp he was being carried seawards.

"Amerigo's swim of 200 yards included a battle against an 'ebb tide and very strong undercurrents.' His award is made for 'Courage and humanity' in saving the life of someone from 'immirent degree of deserver. in Ayrshire, Scotland.

Annie Reid, wife of the Provost of Saltcoats, and just back from Cumnock where she

February 4, 1955—PEACE NEWS—3

# Michael Tippett's "Midsummer Marriage"

THE world premiere of Michael Tippett's first opera, The Midsummer Marriage, for which he has written the libretto as well as the music, has had a "mixed" Press.

Truth to tell, there has been more disparagement than praise, but it is worthy of note that Andrew Porter and Scott Goddard, both competent critics, were highly enthusiastic, and the Manchester Guardian, The Times and the Daily Telegraph were deeply respectful.

The opera is a highly imaginative work, with its action played out on the two planes of reality and symbolism, in which the sym-



### MICHAEL TIPPETT

bolism is used to show two lovers' probolism is used to show two lovers' progress through trial towards true understanding of each other and, with that, towards the fulness of a love embracing heart, mind and body. But there is no hiding the fact that the story as enacted on the stage is difficult, almost impossible, to follow. In watching rehearsal and first performance, I could not help being reminded of many a declaration before a military tribunal, crystal-clear to the fore a military tribunal, crystal-clear to the pacifist making it, which the humdrum minds of his listeners were wholly unable

to grasp.

And I was reminded, too, of something completely topical: the correspondence in recent issues of the Observer on the subject of head and heart knowledge, in which so clear a thinker as Professor Toynbee has called attention to the existence of a language of the heart, which is unmeaning and sometimes nonsensical to those who attempt to interpret it in terms of the language of the head. That language of the heart, in the case of this opera, is Tippett's music, which even the unkindest critics of the work admit to be splendid. For me, Michael Tippett has over-rated the receptiveness of people to whom the language of music is not all-sufficient to carry the meaning of a message.

Considering the inevitable difficulty of telling a story simultaneously on the two planes of reality and symbolism, the designer of the stage settings should have made the greatest possible effort to make the transition from the one to the other plane clear even to the literal-minded. This, Barbara Hepworth has signally failed to do. It is quite impossible, unless you have been told beforehand what it is meant to represent, to see in the harsh-looking temple near the front of the stage, and in the batch of timber planks standing at its side, "a clearing in a wood, perhaps at the top of a hill," with a kind of a temple sanctuary far at the back, often shrouded by mist.

The singers and dancers on the stage, the conductor and the orchestra, on the other hand, have served the composer well. So also have the BBC and the Covent Garden Administration, the former by a talk by the producer Christopher West and by a television programme on the evening before the first perfermence introduced by Isaac the first performance, introduced by Lord Harewood; and the latter by a pamphlet, written with deep understanding, which fully explains the story. Once it is understood, it is seen to carry a message of sheer beauty and profound truth. And Michael Tippett's music with its splendid orchestra-tion carries its meaning with absolute clarity in spite of the complexity of the score. But he will, I hope, forgive me if I say that he is a far better musician than librettist. As a last word, I should like to add advisable as a preliminary to hearing the Roy Sherwood. that a reading of the libretto is highly

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# Great men speak

"GREAT Men Speak" is the general title of two important pamphlets which are being published by the Peace Committee of the Society of Friends.

The first, now available, is the text of the broadcast talk by Bertrand Russell, "Man's Peril from the Hydrogen Bomb" In this paper Lord Russell makes a plea for an objective appraisal of the terrible danger in which man-kind stands and calls for helpful action to be taken by the neutral nations of the world.

The second pamphlet, due shortly, is a reprint of the speech made by Dr. Niemoller of the German Evangelical Church at a meeting organised by the American Fellowship of Reconciliation at which he announced that he had become a pacifist. It is this address which

Both pamphlets may be ordered from Friends Peace Committee, Friends House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1., price 2½d. each or 7s. per 100 post free.

# Answer to the threat of war

Programme for Peace, by Edward Rogers. Epworth Press, 1s. 6d.

THIS small book is a very valuable contribution to the subject of peace-making, Written by a non-pacifist, it should, however, be read by all pacifists. The book is an elaboration of the convictions which lay behind a statement on "A Positive Peace Policy" which Mr. Rogers submitted to the Methodist

The case is presented with a deep sense of urgency. This is expressed in the opening sentences of the book:

We are living in one of the great crises of world history. Decisions must be taken quickly that will determine the pattern of human society for generations to come. They may even determine whether there will be any generations to come.

The programme is presented against the background of the threat to the very existence of humanity by the destructive powers of modern weapons of war. It is not that the hydrogen bomb is necessarily any more evil than less powerful weapons of destruction but that the earth is not a big enough home for the new type of fireworks. A creative peace cannot be built on the flimsy foundation of fear but it can awaken the conscience of humanity to the real causes of war and lead to a determined attempt to deal with them.

Mr. Rogers maintains that one of the major causes of war is the extreme poverty of a large percentage of the world's population. One source of the crisis is the new awareness of the majority of mankind of their poverty-stunted life". He gives a masterly survey of the magnitude of the need with detailed information about the many fatal diseases which are the direct result of malnutrition. The need can only be met by an imaginative and generous programme of assistance on the part of the wealthier nations. This could be given if the manpower, money and technical skill now absorbed in preparation for destruction should be diverted to contructing peace. He emphasises that Christians have a special responsibility to press for the carrying out of such a programme on the leaders of the world and to support the humanitarian work sponsored

The book leaves a number of questions unanswered as for instance when he maintains. as his own personal conviction, that armaments may serve on occasions to prevent war. The question arises, if we are to have armaments at all is it not better to have powerful arms than weak ones, furthermore, if armaments at this stage prevent war, at what point are we to divert the resources from this pur-pose to the relief of human poverty and disease. In spite, however, of some aspects which are not likely to satisfy the pacifist this book is to be warmly commended as one likely to stimulate Christian thought and

GEORGE MALAND.

# For peace services

Every Nation Kneeling, by Will Hayes. Order of the Great Companions.

THIS very beautifully produced volume of fourteen forms of service for universalist worship is a valuable anthology of devotion ranging from the Bible to Walt Whitman, the Bhagavad Gita to Tom Paine, the Zendavesta to Blake. Since the services are universalist in conception there is no mention of the par-ticular doctrines of the various religions—thus, ticular doctrines of the various religions—thus, for example, there is no mention of Redemption. The various forms stress very strongly the Immanence of God, but unfortunately the balancing element of His Transcendence is implied only here and there. More unfortunately still, there is nothing in these pages of the revolutionary dynamic with must be a rest of any true religion. part of any true religion. This said, the volume remains of great value, both for its primary purpose and as a manual of private devotion; it could also be used on special occasions, such as peace services, by members of any of the great religions of the world with the help of the judicious additions. Pages for manuscript notes follow each form of service so that it can easily be adapted as desired by those who use it. The system of pointing of the canticles is difficult to understand, since

# MORE

600 Million Customers in China, a report on British-China trade. Foreword by Harold Wilson, M.P. Union of Democratic Con-

IF trade doesn't cross frontiers, armies will!" Peace workers have in the past uttered this warning many times and it is as

true today as it ever was.

Trade between Britain and the Communist states in Eastern Europe and China was one of the first casualties of the "Cold War." As post-war tensions increased, so the trade bans devised in the USA—grew, and reduced British trade across the so-called 'Iron Curtain' to a trickle.

As Harold Wilson, MP, says in his Fore-word to this valuable publication: "It is quite clear that British trading interests are being sacrificed to American congressional hysteria, and whatever justification may have been pleaded for the embargo has long since dis-

appeared."

What are the regulations imposed on our trade with China? "The Board of Trades's "are governed," trade with China? "The Board of Trades's restrictions," says the pamphlet, "are governed, first, by various unpublished agreements entered into by the US, Britain and other countries since 1949, placing limitations on trade with Eastern Bloc countries; secondly, by the Battle Act (passed by the US congress as part of the Cold War); and, thirdly, by the UN General Assembly Resolution of May

Examples are given of the absurd length to which Britain is carrying these restrictions. In April, 1953, the Board of Trade stopped the sale of £2 million of anti-biotics and sulpha drugs to China. The result was that this order was given to Western Germany, a country, like Britain, expected to obey US trade policy with the Communist states. Although the war in Korea ended and fighting stopped in Indo-

China, the embargo on trade with China continued.

The pamphlet analyses the possibilities of extended trade with China, and mentions the statement of Mr. Leo Jen-Min, of the Chinese said that his country is willing to buy from Britain goods to the tune of £40,000,000 a year to begin with. This is a relatively small amount, but about seven times greater than at especially as the goods China wants are just those in which the British manufacturer has great traditional advantages." To fulfil this modest target, Britain would have to reject the trade restrictions imposed by the cold war strategists in Washington.

In return "China could supply us with £8 million of tung oil and other vegetable oils; £8 million of eggs and egg products; £6 million of soya beans and products; £8 million of textile and other raw materials; £4 million

party of British business men, supported by the Federation of British Industries, has been to Peking and has returned calling for more British trade with China. Their viewpoint fully upholds the case made in this UDC publication. Those arguing in favour of East-West trade will find it a valuable reference book.

RON HUZZARD.

Trade delegation, in London in June, 1954. He present. China's industry is being rapidly expanded as part of her Five Year Plan, and will probably need at least £200 million of imports from other countries. These will be mainly engineering products and, as the pamphlet says, "Britain should be able to account for 20 to 25 per cent. of such imports,

of maize; and £6 million of miscellaneous items, or a total of £40 million yearly." Since this pamphlet was published, another

# TWO IN TEN DIE IN INFANCY



These children, playing outside their homes in Turkey are lucky. They survived. Infant mortality in Turkey is 200 per 1,000 births. Eighty per cent. of births are unattended by medical personnel or qualified midwives.

UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund) is helping the Turkish Government with anti-TB control, maternity and child welfare and improvements to the dairy industry.

As a NATO country Turkey received £T179m. in military aid in 1953. Turkey's estimated defence expenditure for 1953 was £T1,080m. The £T (Turkish Lira) has a nominal value of 2s, 7d. Population at the October 22, 1950, census was 20,936,524.

# TRENDS

small, earnest, and hitherto ineffectual Liberal Party. This has come out unreservedly with a demand for "equal political rights based on a common franchise roll." The name asso-ciated with it that is best known outside the Union is that of its Vice-President, Mr. Alan Union is that of its vice-resident, with the Paton, author of CRY THE BELOVED COUNTRY. To say that this Liberal Party is regarded as To say that the Liberal Party is regarded as the far even by opponents of the Nationalists, is to get the South African picture completely out of perspective. Mr. Paton and those who think like him are, as things stand, merely dismissed with more or less tolerance as cranks.

-- THE TIMES, Jan. 13, 1955.

"To tell the Africans about social equality, "To tell the Africans about social equanty, political freedom, integration, and the like is nothing but a Judas-kiss, and they will not take long to discover their betrayal. Go to any British possession in Africa and you will understand what I mean. In the Council Chambers of State you will get a few privileged Africans side by side with the European telepotes. Duily, they partake in debates on delegates. Daily they partake in debates on social and political equality and the banishment of the colour-bar. In the newspapers the less privileged Africans read about their noble and generous European brothers oversea; but in the streets they are only too often barked at like dogs. Do you want a full proof of the outcome of all this suppressed hatred in lands of so-called brotherhood and equality? Then remember the Mau Mau and the Kenyattas of Kenya, the product of the 'liberal' attitude."

-AN AFRIKANER MISSIONARY, The Times, Jan. 10, 1955.

We of the Chinese community in Hong Kong have two National Days since Mao Tsetung established his China as the new and big it seems to apply neither to plainsong nor to the Anglican chants to which it is apparently intended that they should be sung. G.T.P.K. mosa, and both are in October. Perhaps we

How delicately the United Party (in S. may have some more if any other great man Africa) has to tread may be seen from the has succeeded to make a third China out of care with which it dissociates itself from the the country claiming to be legitimate as the other two did.

FILM ABOUT

—Сни Lieu, Oct. 15, 1954.

# \_ Talking of books . . \_ The military machine

By Robert Greacen

The Soldier by Karlludwig Opitz. Muller,

Middle East Survey by S. A. Morrison. SCM Press, 12s. 6d.

The Numbered Days by S. B. Jackman. SCM Press, 9s. 6d.

RY now the last War has produced a number of outstanding novels, including one from the author of the famous ALL QUIET ON THE WESTERN FRONT. They mostly underline the brutality, senselessness and futility of the whole business. When these novels are written by men who were themselves soldiers the chances are that we are getting an authentic account of Army life.

In THE SOLDIER Herr Opitz takes us behind the German lines. Few of his characters mouth the vicious phrases of Hitler and Goebbels; most of them would prefer to live decent and constructive lives far from bursting shells and rotting corpses. But soldiers are conditioned to obey orders.

The central character, Lingen, realises how foolish it all is; he does the dirty work like others, but simply because he can see no way out of doing it. He is caught in the machine that thousands like him helped to construct The oil-smeared tank crew, the stupid officers, the officious NCOs, the smell of petrol, the stench of corpses, the Afrika Korps in retreat and the appalling slaughter at the "Falaise Gap" in Normandy—these are the ingredients of a really powerful indictment of the military machine.

As the publisher tells us, THE SOLDIER is "not a pleasant book "-and his phrase is indeed a considerable understatement. Anyone who wants something "nice" or "cheerful" had better keep away from it. Now that the ex-Nazis may soon be getting their guns back again, it is a book which the Bonn Government will wish had never been written. Or perhaps Herr Blank may want to use this soldierly reflection to step up recruitment: It's a bloody awful life, being a soldier. His views do not vary on this subject: to hell

for your fatherland. MIDDLE EAST SURVEY is written by a field worker of the Church Missionary Society who has spent over thirty years in Egypt. The author surveys the various problems confronting the principal nations of the area and deals in particular with the Arab-Jewish conflict. He also tries to assess the place of the Christian world in the whole situation. Here is his summing-up in a sentence:

with standing to attention and fighting

For the convinced Christian the basic question is whether the churches of the West and the churches of the Middle East can by their respective contribution lead the restless, unsettled and naturally antagonistic peoples of the area into "the way of peace.

Mr. Jackman's THE NUMBERED DAYS also comes from the SCM Press and has a similar Christian tone. The author, who is the minister of the Pretoria Congregational Church, gives us a series of essays (sermons originally) on the South African situation. Mr. Jackman makes no claim to a searching political analysis of the South African crisis, principally since he maintains that "the sickness of South Africa is a sickness of the Yet as a Christian he does not shirk spirit." Yet as a Christian he does not shirk the political issue, but makes a strong and courageous attack on the inhuman, un-Christian and basically untenable idea of racial superiority.

controversial British film, in Eastman colour, brutality is shown. about the Mau Mau and Kenya. The arguments are weighted against the Africans and there are distortion, half-truths and serious omissions: "We've given the Africans the wrong things—democracy and self-government. They're not rational beings but backward children. We must teach them to fear us more than they fear the Mau Mau!"

The other side is stated by three admirable actors. Virginia McKenna as a white girl whose parents are killed but who still helps an African doctor, says "You can't lump five million together."

The inspector of police distrusts educated Africans, but an Irish doctor (Joseph Tomelty) points out: "If we don't trust one another there'll be no end to this horror. A hundred Kikuyu have been killed by the Mau Mau for every white they've killed. We must make friends with the Africans and learn to live together side by side or we'll be fighting five million of them."

We are told, too, that "anger breeds violence and violence breeds anger," but the good African doctor (Earl Cameron) who says, "I despise anyone who preaches violence and intolerance" is slighted and suspected; and a good white man, after being killed, is attacked by a fellow colonist for his brotherhood, which is called "slushy sentimentality." His defender, however, replies that if every European had behaved in that brotherly fashion there would have been no distrustful Africans and no Mau

Despite these concessions to truth, we are given no idea why Mau Mau fight; nothing about land-hunger, forced labour, suppression of unions; but rather the suggestion that the whites are self-sacrificing and have done only

THE MAU MADE at Pinewood Studios and now showing at the Odeon, Leicester Square, is depicted, apart from the shooting to kill of a running suspect, no white brutality or police

VERONICA MADDINGLEY.

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For the moral, political and social advancement of Indians in South Africa

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What on earth was God thinking about?

SPEAKING of the latest Russian note on Western "defence" in "The World and Ourselves" (Home), Richard Scott warned us that "our statesmen were using the words 'mere propaganda' too freely. It absolves us from thinking about the matter." The threat: "'if Western Germany joined the Western Defence Pact, German unity will become impossible' must be taken seriously." However, "we must ignore the threat in spite of the consequences."

Having aligned himself with those who absolve themselves from thinking, friend Scott introduced a beauty in support of the pact: Germany has the right to choose her own riends." Messrs. Dulles and Eden Ltd. will be furious not to have thought of that one!

... his talk "World Strategy Today" (Third), Sir John Slessor confirmed the historical axiom that military men are too dangerous to meddle with policy. After telling us "there is not the remotest chance of any-

body winning a hydrogen war...the Kremlin would not run the risk...they play chess, not poker . .

neither side could escape in a nuclear war,' instead of resigning from the Air Force and ordering Peace News, he studied his hand and continued: "Cold war is now permanent—an air force is not decisive—the future will be limited wars—we have got to be ready with our Asiatic allies (smile) to meet militant Communism on the ground."

Sir John, you are bad at poker! Do you really believe you can decide the strategy of an opponent? As you imply world wars have cancelled themselves out, what final purpose can limited war serve, other than precursors of world wars? If you are again invited by the BBC to use the air as a tumbling ground for whimsies, please correct your title to "World Hallucinations Today."

\*

With Machiavellian nonchalance we switched on to "Pitcher Plants in Assam" (Third), and listened to F. Kingdon-Ward describe how he found a patch of these insectivorous plants "Two thousand feet up in a hollow rock... with orchid-like stems fluted to guide insects to the flower, flush cherry-red... a tiny disk-like button first appears, grows and inflates to a balloon—a lid opens, and the Pitcher, now six inches deep by two inches across, waits for prey. The inside of the Pitcher is slippery and contains inside of the Pitcher is slippery and contains glands... ants, beetles, crickets, caterpillars, etc., topple into the cup, and their soft parts are consumed by the plant."

Feeling rather caddish we murmured: "So you see, Aunt, even some flowers are not vegetarians!" "Maybe, maybe," she replied, "but what on earth was God thinking about!" JAMES FLEMING

# See you to-night?

Steps of St. Martin-in-the-Fields Trafalgar Square every Friday at 5.30 p.m.

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# "Nobody's nightshirt is going to be very white after an H-bomb" — Alex Comfort

against German rearmament and weapons of mass destruction, and so has Peace News, but I can see what he means, and your editorial was on a decidedly sticky wicket.

Pacifism means (to me) the refusal to countenance war in any shape or form, or even (to some people) violence in any shape or form—well and good. That is an intelligible platform. But to imply that it renders the campaign against nuclear and similar weapons a futility seems to me sheer lunacy. It isn't merely that after an H-bomb nobody's nightshirt is going to be very white—it is, quite simply, that unless we can prevent this sort of war, even if we cannot prevent all war, human history will not last more than another five or six years if that. There has been no comparable situation in the past. It was once possible to argue that war with bombs was "morally no worse" than war with bayonets (that was always the generals' argument), but to suggest today that nothing would be gained by a limitation in the extent and nature of warfare, even if it fell short of the abolition of war, is simply untrue. To suggest that it is impossible is equally untrue. The "H-bomb campaign" was something got up, in my opinion, to head off a far more radical movement of public opinion against Western policy into harmless channels. We were right to stay out, but not because the attempt to ban Hbombs is irrelevant.

As for a united "peace movement," Messrs. Dulles, Eden, Attlee, Malenkov, and the other statesmen who would endorse the lessening of international tension in theory will endorse it in practice when public opinion forces their hand, and not before. Pacifists can and should join in forcing it on every suitable issue. If they decline to support predominantly Communist organisations, that is surely because those organisations are specifically pushing Soviet foreign policy: if they agree to work with Communists over limited issues which they can define, that is a perfectly legitimate position—the choice turns on practical tactics, not on abstract principle. It was sensible to stay out of the British Peace Committee—it was a party-line organisation which might good effect on public opinion over issues like the atomic ban and German re-armament, where the Russian line is a defensible one; but it was likely to do harm in linking those issues with other Communist propaganda. It was clearly better tactics for the non-Communist bodies to stay out, so that they could "field" the campaign if the party line changed or the Communists overdid it. On the other hand, the presence even of Western Marxists, and certainly of Western Marxists, and certainly of Western Western Marxists, and certainly of Western non-Marxist pacifists, at meetings attended by Eastern Marxists, did a great deal to convey the real tone of Western public opinion to the Eastern governments, who often completely misjudged it. This is the kind of issue which requires to be weighed in taking a policy decision. What I think has harmed pacifist credit has been the attempt to make such decisions of policy look like decisions of principle, and the suggestion that "your ideas" principle, and the suggestion that "your ideas of peace and ours are not the same" (which is either self-evident or meaningless), rather than "your campaign is more interested in Communist foreign policy than in peace per se, and it would be thumping bad tactics for us to get mixed up with it when we can still act effectively as neutral mediators."

MR. GREEN has a good many of his facts realise, this has, effectively, been what we also a large number of pacifists in its member-and what, unless I grossly misread ship (I am not, by the way, a member myself).

The point at issue, however, is whether or the point at its point at the point at its point at the point said. I think we have been mistaken in not saying it more plainly, perhaps, but if we had really adopted the line that nothing short of immediate and general Gandhiism was good enough we should merit being dismissed for fools. At the same time, so long as any kind of war remains possible—so long, in fact, as any kind of organised violence or coercion remains possible, we shall not have done campaigning.

ALEX COMFORT.

Loughton, Essex.

### **Pacifists and Communists**

F it is peace of any sort which our fellowtravelling friends want, is there any reason why they should not urge the Communist world to yield to the West? With western domination of the world there would be peace

Obviously this would be unacceptable to them and their Communist partners, because such a state would not, for them, constitute

real peace. In precisely the same way, it seems to me, a Communist-style peace must be unacceptable to the pacifist. Though his belief in non-

# LETTERS

violence may cause him to risk Communist domination, it must emphatically not allow him to invite it, or to submit to it.

Before there can be any talk of organisa-tional co-operation with Communists (as distinct from person-to-person relationships with individual Communists), there are a number of things which I believe the pacifist, if he is loyal to his pacifist comrades, actual or potential, in Communist countries should have to see settled in those countries. Among

1. Establishment of the right of conscientious

2. Freedom to form and operate a branch of the War Resisters International, the International FoR, etc

. Unrestricted public sale of and private sub-scription to Peace News and other pacifist

Abolition of conscription for war industries, or right of conscientious objection. Amnesty for those undergoing imprison-ment for refusal to participate in military

organisations without right of exemption. Free entry of pacifist propagandists with freedom of public address indoors and out-

These are the conditions which the pacifist movement enjoys in the United States and the western world generally, yet most pacifists cannot accept the western world as being peaceably inclined. Is it not logical therefore that they should have at least similar reservations about the peace policies of organisations whose sponsoring countries do not permit even this minimum of expression for th fist point of view? TOM WARDLE.

87 Digby Crescent, N.4. A suicidal policy

WITH the final paragraph of Sybil Morrison's letter I am, of course, in complete agreement, and I therefore regret the more that "your campaign is more interested in Communist foreign policy than in peace per e, and it would be thumping bad tactics for recall the "smear" tactics of McCarthyism. The implied parallel between Mosley and the suggestion that that body is entirely Communist. It is questionable if, in the first World War, the majority of the Quakers were convinced suggestion that that body is entirely Communist. It is questionable if, in the first World War, the majority of the Quakers were convinced pacifists. I do not infer that not to be a munist—there are a number of clergy and pacifist was a fault.

B. J. OVER.

not we can ever hope to make the whole world pacifist in one step soon enough to pre-vent another world conflagration. If Miss Morrison really believes that this is possible, good luck to her. But unfortunately if we are not to be mere idle dreamers, we must face the existing political situation. No one, so far as I know, Communist, pacifist, or anything else, has ever maintained for a moment that the banning of the H-bomb or of German rearmament will alone bring peace: these things are only steps on the road, and by no means ends in themselves. Certainly as by no means ends in themselves. Certainly as pacifists we cannot stop there if anyone else does; but to refuse to work for these objects because they do not go the whole way seems to me a suicidal policy. Every day that actual war is averted is another day for us to spread the Gospel of Peace; and is not that in itself good?

(Rev.) GEOFFREY P. T. PAGET KING. Highbury, N.5.

### CO Tribunals

JUDGE HARGREAVES deserves all our sympathy. His unenviable task is that of de-educating any boy who has been brought up to believe that murder, retail or wholesale, is, to say the least, uncivilised.

The boy in question comes to learn, as I myself came to learn, that the motto of the model citizens who have his destiny in their hands is: Bring up a child in the way he should go, and, when he is become a man, tell him to depart from it. To be more exact: Force him to depart from it.

The main object of education (as distinct from instruction) is to teach humans to think straight. To de-educate them is . . . well, need

Now, it is impossible to engage in the process of de-education as long as Judge Hargreaves has done, without at the same time de-educating oneself. Is it therefore surprising that the gentleman in question comes to take causes for effects and vice versa-comes to suffer (and suffer is the word) not only from "double-think" but from what I may be pardoned for terming "double-cross think."

A prime instance of this is his ascribing

the saving of the inmates of Belsen by the use of violence. The truth is that it was precisely the use of mass violence which gave the Nazis the cover behind which to exercise their unspeakable violence. Had there been no war, there would have been no monstrous wholesale mass-incineration of the innocent. DAVID R. ROBERTS.

London, W.5.

# Quakers and war

DOES Nina Worley suppose that all Quakers are pacifists? That seems to be the question she raises.

In QUAKERS IN COMMERCE is this paragraph:
"The Cadbury and Rowntree newspapers were Liberal and Free Trade but unlike Joseph Sturge and his followers they were not for peace at any price and during the Great War these journals behaved splendidly."
Scebohm Rowntree himself reviewed this

# As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select notices for publication. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore targe organisers of events to:

Friday, February 4 GLASGOW: 7.45 p.m.; Community Ho. Clyde St., 1. Group Meeting. PPU.

Saturday, February 5 LONDON, W.C.1: 3-5 p.m.; Dick Shep-pard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Discussion to be opened by Miss R. Kurz. "Living in the Now." PPU Religion Commission.

Sunday, February 6 LONDON, W.1: 3.30 p.m.; King's Weigh House Church, Binney St. (Nr. Bond St. stn.) Pacifist Universalist Service. Pandit Ushar-budh Arya. "Asoka and Akhnaton." PPU Religion Commission.

Monday, February 7

LONDON, N.W.3: 8 p.m.; 12 Downside Cres., Hampstead. (close Belsize tube). Fred Moorhouse (Organiser, FoR). "Industrial Relations." FoR. NEWCASTLE: 8 p.m.; Becket Ho., 6 ovaine Row, Barras Bdge. Ivan Geffen, Pacifists and the Labour Party." PPU.

THORNTON HEATH: 8 p.m.; 47 Parchmore Rd. (bus to sin. and short walk) Bernard Withers (CBCO). "CO's Today." Wednesday, February 9 LUTON: 8 p.m.; 146 Wardown Cres. Broup Mtg. PPU.

OXFORD: 7.30 p.m.; 19 Park End St Speaker: Rev. S. Burden. PPU. 

Every week! SUNDAYS HYDE PARK: 3 p.m.; Pacifist Youth ction Group, Every Sunday, PYAG.

TUESDAYS MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS NOTTINGHAM: 1.15 p.m.; Open-air mtg. Old Market Sq. Rev. Donald Pipe and others. PoR. PPU.

THURSDAYS

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15-1.45 p.m.; Church St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly the Conducted by clergy and laymen of different denominations.

Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning. Include; Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address) preferably in that order and style.

Thursday, February 10 LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd., Arthur Hadley. "Justice." PPU. LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Shep-pard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Mr Louis de Pinna, MA, LLD. "World Government." PYAG.

Friday, February 11 CAMBRIDGE 1 8.15 p.m.; The Uni-Public Mtg. Rev. Prof. C. E. Raven, Mr. Cunningham "Report on Russia." FoR. The Union

LONDON, S.E.9: 7.30 p.m.; 506 Foots Cray Rd, (21 bus to County Gate). Business Meeting and Discussion: "The Implications of Pacifism." Young CO's especially welcome. Eltham PPU.

LONDON, E.3 t 7.30 p.m.; Kingsley Hall.
"Fortieth Birthday at Home." Hostess,
Muriel Lester. Musical Items, etc. Kingsley

Tuesday, February 15

Thursday, February 17
LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho.,
Bush Rd. J. Allen Skinner (Editor, Peace
News). "The Third Way." PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1 r 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Mary McKenzle. "Why I am Pacifist," Discussion. PYAG. Friday, February 18

GLASGOW: 7.45 p.m.; Community Ho., Clyde St., 1. Group Meeting. PPU. LONDON, E.3: 7.45 p.m.; Children's Ho., Eagling Rd. Gp. business mtg. and discussion. PPU.

Saturday, February 19 HOLLOWAY: 4-9.30 p.m.; Hollowa Friends Mig. Ho., 404 Camden Rd. (Tube Holloway Rd.). Social. PYAG.

Sunday, February 20 LONDON, W.1 t 3.30 p.m.; King's Weigh House Church, Binney St. (Nr. Bond St. stn.). Pacifist Universalist Service. Ian Dixon, "A Young Man Looks at Religion." PPU Religion Commission.

Thursday, February 24 LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Fred Moorhouse (FoR). "Idealism, Materialism and War." PYAG. Wednesday, March 2 BELFAST: 8 p.m.; Friends Institute Frederick St. J. Malcolm Nicholson. "Re-flections on Pacifist Policy." FoR.

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MEETINGS

INTERNATIONAL CLUB, Bath. Tuesdays, 7.30. Literary Institute, 18 Queen Sq. All welcome.

KING'S WEIGH House Church, Duke St., nr. Bond St. Tube, Sunday at 6.30 p.m. The Gospel of Peace. Rev. Claud M. Coltman, MA, B.Litt.

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\$4 year. \$2 six months. New readers: 3 months trial, \$1. MATERIAL PROFESSION OF THE PRO

# "END PREJUDICE AGAINST FOREIGNERS"

"The building industry needs labour, the outlet for our people. We joined the army West Indians are willing to work building because we wanted to eat." West Indians are willing to work building houses, they have a right to homes."

There was no real problem said Mr. Fenton Jeremiah a Colonial Office welfare officer who described what welfare provisions had been made for the immigrants. There was plenty of employment for them he said.

A strong plea for reception centres came from Councillor H. N. White, Mayor of Lambeth, who recently led a deputation to the Colonial Office. "We want integration not segregation" he said.

### 'Treat us as equals"

The idea of reception centres was attacked by Councillor N. Marock, chairman of the Brixton Labour Party. "We don't know Brixton Labour Party. "We don't know where these centres would be. Will they be hutments in the parks? Will they be in the deep shelters in Tottenham Court Road and Lambeth?

"Are we prepared to say to the West Indians, live in these shelters for three months, six months, or perhaps a year, while we tell you about our country and teach you a job. These half-way homes may last for years!"

Employ West Indians in the fire service said Mr. Tom Harris, of the London District Council of the Fire Brigades Union. His union, he said, was willing to accept coloured

We do not want sympathy; just treat us as equals" said Mr. Chris Coward a former oil worker from Trinidad, who complained of advertisements which said "Room to let —No Irish, No Coloured, No Dogs."

He told how he and his fellow West Indians joined the British forces during the last war.

joined the British forces during the last war. "We were not patriotic, the war was just an

### Only ten years ago

Monsignor Joseph Stapleton, senior Roman Catholic chaplain of the British Second Army, has been summoned to fly home by the War

The trouble comes from a story which has appeared in a Catholic paper, which says quite bluntly that British Roman Catholic Army chaplains in the field are undertaking parish duties in liberated Germany.

Although to a Christian such functions

might seem normal and unexceptionable, to the Supreme Allied Headquarters they are one

thing only—fraternising with the enemy.

During Monsignor Stapleton's visit to Whitehall orders have been left with all chaplains in his charge that they are to discontinue such practices.

—Daily Express, February 5, 1945.

# Public welcome to Nehru in

### London next week REGINALD SORENSEN, MP, Chairman

of the National Peace Council, will be in the chair at a public welcome to Mr. Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, in the Central Hall, Westminster, on Tuesday, Feb. 8 at 7.30 p.m. organised by the India League. The Rt. Hon. Lord Pethick-Lawrence will give the address of welcome.

give the address of welcome.

The Rev. Gwilym Davies, who established the Annual World Wireless Message of Peace to the children of the world, died last week in hospital at Aberystwyth at the age of 75.

The Lecture Room of the Central Library, Bolton, Lancs., was full to capacity last Sunday for a concert of the works of Thomas B. Pitfield, organised by the Bolton Musical Artists' Association as part of their Diamond Jubilee celebrations. The com-poser and his wife, enthusiastic workers in the pacifist movement, were amongst the

### Thinking about holidays?

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Published from 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4, by Peace News Ltd. Printed by Fish & Cook Ltd., The Goodwin Press (T.U.), 135 Fonthill Rd., London, N.4 world would be the great denominator that them this simple truth."

"The righteous indignation the British show over the Malan policy, would be ridiculous indignation if it relied on our ability to keep the coloured people at bay" said Mr. Roland Brown, former secretary of the Society of Labour Lawyers. He attacked a Bill aimed at limiting immigration proposed by a Conservative back-bench MP under the Ten-Minute Rule last week.

The conference was brought to a close with a speech by, Mr. Kenneth Robinson, Labour MP for North St. Pancras. "There is no colour bar in Britain" he told the audience, "But there is prejudice against foreigners of all sorts and all colours."

The problem was the problem of homes. People were afraid the immigrants would take over houses from English people. "It is un-fortunate that the places where the jobs are

going are the places where the housing lists are longest."

People have been waiting for years for houses, waiting in "pretty ghastly conditions." They believed that in some way the influx of West Indians would prevent them from getting homes. Apart from the question of houses there was no problem. We can assimilate the West Indians who have come over so far and many more besides.

He said he doubted if the Government intended to introduce legislation to limit immigration because they knew the oppo-sition they would meet. "We are rightly proud that any member of the Commonwealth may come and go as he pleases in this country. We must never lose that,"

The Government had a duty, he said, to see that the West Indies was no longer "the darkest spot in the British Empire."

# Colour bar in Birmingham

TO THE EDITOR

WE stand disgraced by the attitude of those white trade unionists who threatened to strike if T.V. interviewed coloured workers employed at the City of Birmingham Hockley bus depot. It is now obvious, that, after all, prejudice was behind their original ban on coloured bus workers.

Allied to this, and no less disgraceful, is the Birmingham City Council's deputation asking Whitehall to restrict coloured immigration. I wish completely to dissociate myself from this blatant discrimination. White workers aggravate the City's housing shortage no less than coloured, yet there is no request for restrictions on Irish, Scots or Welsh! (Incidentally, I am a Welshman.)

All trade unionists and Labour Party mem bers should rally to condemn these and all other attempts to discriminate on a colour

PERCY DOWNEY. City of Birmingham Councillor.

95a Thornbridge Avenue, Birmingham, 22. MACARTHUR

tion as a moral and spiritual question, and

"It is no longer an ethical equation to be

pondered solely by learned philosophers and ecclesiastics, but a hard-cored one for the

decision of the masses whose survival is the

"This is as true of the Soviet side of the

world as of the free side—as true behind the

Iron Curtain as in front of it. The ordinary

people of the world, whether free or slave, are all in agreement on this solution; and this,

perhaps, is the only thing in the world they do agree upon. But it is the most vital and determinate of all."

Sooner or later, he said, the world must reach the decision that war "can no longer

"The only question is when? Must we fight again before we learn? When will

some great figure in power have sufficient imagination and moral courage to translate this universal wish—which is rapidly becom-ing a universal necessity—into actuality?

"We are in a new era. The old methods and solutions no longer suffice. We must have

new thoughts, new ideas, new concepts, just as did our venerated forefathers when they faced

the Army, the target was one enemy casualty at the end of a rifle or bayonet or sword. Then came the machine-gun designed to kill

by the dozen. After that the heavy artillery

thousands, followed by the atom explosion to reach the hundreds of thousands.

science have raised the destruction potential

to encompass millions. And with restless hands we work feverishly in dark laboratories

to find the means to destroy all at one blow.'

Double suicide

The arms race between East and West might lead to atomic warfare by "spontaneous combustion," he argued. In such warfare, "if you lose you are annihilated. If you win you

stand only to lose. No longer does it possess

the chance of the winner of a duel—it contains rather the germs of double suicide. Science has clearly outmoded it as a feasible

"Then the aerial bomb to strike by the

"Now electronics and other processes of

raining death upon thousands.

"At the turn of the century, when I entered

be an arbiter of survival.

a new world.

brought it abreast of scientific realism.

# Rattling the olive branch

Although heavy American air and naval reinforcements are now assembling in Formosa Strait, they and the implicit warning to China not to challenge the United States over Formosa, are no more than a martial veil behind which the Administration is preparing the way for a future peaceful relationship with the Chinese -Sunday Times, Jan. 23, 1955.

By their vote the American people have made it clear to the world that they are united in their determination to help a brave ally (Chiang Kai-shek) and to resist Communist aggression. By so asserting this belief we are taking a step to preserve the peace in the Formosa area. -President Eisenhower, Jan. 29, 1955.

READING the front page news, and the leaders, in various newspapers during the last two weeks has caused me to feel as though I were living in a kind of Alice Through The Looking Glass

To pass a resolution, as the Congress and Senate of the USA have done, authorising the use of the United States armed forces in the Formosa area, and declare at the same time that it is a peace move, is strongly reminiscent of Humpty Dumpty's famous remark on the use of words.

It will be remembered that when Alice doubtfully suggested that his interpretation of the word "glory" was "rather a lot for one word to mean", he replied, bombastically: "When I use a word it means just what I choose it to mean—neither more nor less."

Bewildered, Alice ventured with the different remark: "The question is whether you can make words mean so many different

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TO THE EDITOR

IT is time something was done to give greater publicity to our newspaper. We know Peace News loses £3,000 yearly because of its uneconomic circulation, and therefore cannot itself pay for expensive advertising. But we believe there is much that readers can do to resolve this dif-

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strates the inherent weakness in the theory of

collective security. The chain is no stronger than its weakest link and, what is more vital, its full power can only be utilised when all

the links are brought simultaneously into action. The diverse interests of the Allies always tend towards separation rather than

"The hundreds of thousands of millions

Whatever betides, the ultimate fate of the

of dollars now spent on mutual preparedness

could conceivably abolish poverty from the

Far East—and indeed of the world—will not be settled by force of arms."

The cold war was kept going by two illusions, said General MacArthur. "The one, a complete belief on the part of the Soviet world that the capitalist countries are preparing to attack them; that sooner or later

"And the other, a complete belief on the

part of the capitalist countries that the Soviets are preparing to attack us; that sooner or

face of the globe.

we intend to strike.

later they intend to strike.

would ensure the issue. He went on:

\* From

page I

Humpty Dumpty, unconvinced and unperturbed, crushingly answered: "The question is, which is to be Master-that's all This kind of attitude is extraordinarily

similar to the use of words by statesmen and journalists in regard to the Formosa situation. To advance, sword in hand, with threat gestures and menacing words, is gels are way of suiting the action the word "peace", even if the olive branch is in the other hand, carefully concealed from sight behind the back.

A state of tension in the Far East has been reached in which it appears to have become necessary for the protagonists each to indict the other side as aggressive. In Korea, the provocative incidents of both North and South were covered up in a smother of Humpty Dumpty words directly the USA came in to support Syngman Rhee in his alleged defensive action against the North.

It might have been supposed that the Korean war, with its years of misery and dreadful destruction, would have stood as a permanent example of the futility and cruelty of endeavouring to settle a question of frontiers by fighting over them.

Mr. Attlee has condemned the interference of the United States in what he calls a "civil ", but there would seem to be no basic principle underlying his words, for he certainly was not against interfering in Korea,

nor in the Spanish Civil War.
Wars, civil or otherwise, do not settle anything except perhaps who is the strongest, and a trial of strength on the Formosa issue might all too easily precipitate the world war that is surely dreaded by both sides in this

Even if the olive branch were so obviously displayed that the Communist China Government could not fail to perceive it, it is still unlikely they would grasp it if the other hand held a hydrogen bomb. Both sides have been engaged in pursuing a course they know to be a thorn in the flesh of the other, and the American fear of making any gesture now that could be interpreted as "appeasement" is probably equally true of the Communists.

It is much more difficult to retreat from a threatening attitude than a conciliatory one. and the situation now is one in which every makes it increasingly difficult for either side to withdraw.

It is obvious that in the present struggle between two great power blocs neither side is likely to concede anything to menaces; rattling the olive branch is little better, and just as ineffective, as brandishing the H-bomb. The question is not, who "is to be master", but who is to speak the words that truly mean

peace, and make the gestures which cannot be mistaken for anything but peaceful ones?

Only in Humpty Dumpty land can "peace be made to mean "war", peace means the "This would not, of course, mean the renunciation of war, and this is the meaning abandonment of all armed forces. But it would reduce them to simpler problems of internal order and international police. that, in their hearts, the common people have chosen. It is for the peace movement to make that choice articulate. "The military situation in Formosa demon-

# Any Questions . . .

ABOUT PEACE and WAR?

will be answered by VERA BRITTAIN VICTOR YATES, MP REV. CLIFFORD MACQUIRE CANON T. B. SCRUTTON

SIUART MORKIS Question Master: SYBIL MORRISON

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(One minute from Bond St. Station, Central Line) Wed., Feb. 9, at 6.45 p.m.

Refreshments from 5.45 p.m. Standing Joint Committee of Pacifist Organisation

# Both sides wrong

"Both are wrong. Each side, so far as the masses are concerned, is equally desirous of peace. For either side war with the other would mean nothing but disaster. Both equally dread it. But the constant acceleration may well, without specific intent, ultimately produce a spontaneous combustion.

"The abolition of war would mark the greatest advance in civilisation since the Sermon on the Mount. It would at one stroke reduce the international tensions that seem so insurmountable now, to matters of more probable solution.

"The growing and dangerous control by an individual over the masses—the socialistic and paternal trends resulting therefrom—is largely by virtue of his influence to induce war or maintain peace. Abolish this threat and the position of chief magistrate falls into a more proper civic perspective.

"The ordinary people of the world are agreed on this solution, but the leaders are For this reason, the General rejected the laggards. Never do they dare to state the military preparedness and collective security. Whole truth, that the next great advance in He believed that international inspection of the evolution of civilisation cannot take the evolution of civilisation cannot take place until war is abolished. It may take another cataclysm of destruction to prove to

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"Asoka and Akhnaton"

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